1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

five or six miles northeast of Fort Bidwell, was known as Toha'-kidü-panün (white-groundhog-lake) because a white groundhog was once seen there. Pindy knew no name for Goose lake, but Joshua said that it was called Paba'-panün, big lake. 103 133

Big valley, west of Warner valley, was called Guyü, the name of a food plant gathered there. Sugar hill, Toga'-pokwad (dark point or peak) gave its name to near-by Fandango valley. Fandango pass was called Padu'a'-agan from padu'a', grizzly bear.

ECONOMIC LIFE

SEASONAL PURSUITS AND WANDERINGS

For food these Paiute, like the bulk of Great Basin tribes, were entirely dependent upon hunting and gathering, and even proto-agriculture in the form of wild crop irrigation[10] was unknown. From an economic point of view, Paiute habitat seems to have been peculiarly uninviting, and only through literally unceasing toil could it be made to yield a livelihood. Whereas peoples dependent upon one staple, such as acorns, camas, or mescal, normally enjoy a season of plenty, often followed, to be sure, by one of privation, the Gidü'tikad[9] had no one product upon which they could rely. It follows, therefore, that their food gathering activities were extensive and continuous rather than concentrated and seasonal. Starvation was frequent, especially in late winter when the stores of cached food had been exhausted. 221 ● 221 262

The geography of the Surprise region has been covered by Russell, but it may be well to call attention to a few general features. A large part of the valley floor is occupied by the playa beds of three lakes, now dry most of the time, but well filled within the memory of informants and early settlers. The remainder of the valley is said to have been meadowland in aboriginal times, but nowadays, owing to the introduction of sheep and to subsequent overgrazing, the meadow has been almost completely replaced by sagebrush, excepting, of course, land actually under cultivation. This means that the pre-white environmental conditions were definitely more favorable for the support of a non-agricultural population. In fact, it is difficult to see how a hunting and gathering people could possibly maintain themselves under present conditions. 133 137

[10] Which Steward, 149, reports for the Eastern Mono.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

133 On either side, Surprise valley is bordered by steep rising ranges. The badlands to the east bear little apparent vegetation save sage, but they were the principal root-gathering grounds in the old days. The slopes of the Warners, to the west of Surprise, are covered with a juniper-sage growth, with pine and fir on the upper reaches. To the north of the valley the Warners break down and run northeast to bound Warner valley on the east. Here they are known as the High Desert, a region used today only for grazing. Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise, differs markedly from the latter in that it is almost entirely tule swamp and lake country, although the ubiquitous sagebrush covers what dry land there is.

● 221 The Gidü'tikad[8] exploited this unpromising habitat to the best of their ability, wandering seasonally in pursuit of food. Perhaps the annual cycle is best introduced by the following:

> In the old days they used to dig food all summer—until it was gone. They gathered seeds and roots and buried them in the ground. In winter they stayed until the buried food was gone and then moved on to the next place. They hunted every day, all year. In those days there were many sage hens, ducks, geese, swans, jackrabbits, cottontails, deer, and antelope (NT).

Early in spring, when the snow was still on the ground, they fished in the creeks and streams. As soon as the snow melted sufficiently, those camped in Surprise abandoned their winter quarters and crossed to the hills along the east side of the valley, stringing from Cowhead lake south to Poison spring, there to consume food buried the previous year and to dig whatever roots they could find. All spring and well into summer they continued to wander about, gathering roots which they dried and cached for future use. Their wanderings did not follow any set scheme; they roamed wherever the food supply seemed most promising. A considerable range was necessary, however, for roots such as camas are essentially swamp plants, and others such as epos occur only in higher and drier country. In late summer they returned to the valley to pick berries and to harvest seeds. With the approach of fall, the season for plant foods terminated, and attention was centered upon hunting.

This activity, as well as gathering, groups itself into seasonal cycles. Deer, antelope, and rabbits were hunted the year round. Sage hens and grouse were got in spring. From May to July groundhogs, porcupines, and squirrels were available. In midsummer crickets and occasionally larvae(?) were gathered. In late summer and early fall, hunting of deer and antelope loomed as compared with other pursuits. Wildcat was hunted in fall, which was likewise the season for com-

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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annual rabbit drives and for hunting water fowl such as mud hens, ducks, geese, and swans. This very considerable range of activities implies residence from which the valley lakes and flats, as well as the hill country, were accessible. There seem to have been no set camp spots, but the Adel and Bidwell districts were particularly favored for fall residence.

Winter was the season of food shortage. At this time the Gidü'tikad[8] returned to more or less permanent sites, there to consume the seeds, dried roots, and meats which they had cached. Hunting of deer, antelope, and rabbits continued. In addition, bear, wildcat, and otter were hunted because "then they were fat, and their skins were good." Winter was also the season of antelope charming.

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When asked concerning the relative importance of animal foods, my informant replied, with an excellent display of logic:

> They ate more deer and rabbits than anything else because they hunted them all year round. Rabbits are not as good this time of year; squirrels are better now. It all depends on the season (P:NH).

WINTERING GROUNDS

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The Gidü'tikad[8] had a number of established wintering grounds, and, as a corollary, recognised certain regions—such as the country west of the Warners, the area between Surprise and Warner valleys, Big valley, and the east side of Surprise—which were best shunned during winter because of heavy snows, insufficient resources, etc.

The northernmost winter camp was in the vicinity of Plush, Oregon. According to Piudy, it was known as Sa'ga'namataibui and refers in some obscure way to "the place where the river comes from the mountain into the open country." What is doubtless a different rendering of the same term was given by Joshua who called a Honey creek site near Plush, Saga'pamataibua. He claimed that it was derived from saga', a kind of willow, and tsibua, canyon mouth.

Adel, farther south in Warner valley, was called Saib[9] and was a favorite wintering ground. A camp site just below the present MC ranch house was called Wa'habi[10] (from wago'pi, pine tree, and habi', fall down) and was so-named from a creek into which a large tree had fallen. A site "southeast of Adel," described as a few miles east of Dugout,[11] was called Kusi'nüt[8].

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[11] As the location of this wintering ground is highly doubtful, if has not been entered on the map. Possibly it should be southwest instead of southeast of Adel. In a letter, Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, Lakeview, states that the locality known as Dugout falls within Township 40 South, Range 23 East. This would place it definitely southwest of Adel.

I: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

103 361 In Surprise, the Gidü'tikad[8] sometimes wintered on the slopes below Lake Annie. This site seems to have been unnamed; it was probably known from the lake, or, because of its proximity, may have been included in the name applied to the Bidwell vicinity. This whole latter district was known as Tusi'yamüs (from tusi"p', a kind of grass, *Distichlis spicata* Greene, and yamü's, corner), and ample justification for the name may be found by glancing at Russell's map of Surprise valley surface types.[15] Tusi'yamüs was a favorite spot, and winter camps were strung along the foot of the Warners from the site of the present camp through the Indian School grounds, as well as along Bidwell creek from the fair grounds below town up the canyon to the old flour mill.

There were three wintering grounds about Lake City. One was in a juniper stand a short distance north of town and was called Wa"-dunu'ba (from wap', juniper, and dunu'ba, bunch, stand). Another site was near the lake shore and was called Sawa'-dunu'ba (sawa', sagebrush). Informants state that it is now cleared and planted in wheat. Camps were scattered from below the peak known as Hu'na'-na-mubi, badger-his-nose, just south of Lake City, all along the range slopes south toward Cedarville and on to Eagleville.

Near Cedarville, the Gidü'tikad[8] wintered along the creek at the foot of Cedar pass, which place they called Pa-sü"bi, water-willow, "from a kind of willow growing in the stream." One informant claimed that this site had no name, but that "they knew it by Pa'ho't[c] wogodni (sand creek, canyon) on the eastern side of the valley."

The southernmost winter camp was near Bear ranch at the foot of Surprise valley. My informant could not remember its name but said that it was near the stream called Wi'gi-pa-hu'[16] (sideways-water-running) which "runs sideways instead of straight down from the mountain." From inquiry, Bear creek[16] seems most nearly to answer the description.

221 361 According to informants, "Some stayed in the same camp all winter, but most had at least two camps, perhaps one here and one at Cedarville. When all their food was gone, they moved on to the next camp." There was certainly some travel during winter as camps cooperated in communal antelope and rabbit drives.

361 The winter site had perhaps five or six houses; the summer groups were still smaller, perhaps only two or three.

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[15] Figure 4.

[16] Spelled Bare's creek on the Alturas quadrangle of the United States Geological Survey.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habi-
619 tat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *neim·ī* (e. g. *nī neim·ī non·o* = I Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak
[197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBī*
Silver Lake	*Toha'TeP·i*
Duck Lake	*TīBī'san·īn·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Dīqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Dīqa*
Maidu	*TaKone*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tse*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tīziyamoso*
Lake City	*Pana'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pibī-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there
● 221 built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when
622 they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

Contrary to what might be expected in such a desert region, fish and waterfowl were an extremely important dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless, because of the inhospitable environment the available food was so often inadequate that the Indians learned to eat nearly everything which could support life. Seasonal migrations in search of food took Indians of nearly every band into the areas recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

In the two and a half months available for this study* it was impossible to visit all the bands still represented by living Indians. Of the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element lists were obtained from eleven.

Since it was impossible to follow the conventional methods of gathering ethnographic data, that is, by indirect questions which force informants to take the initiative in all descriptions, some mention of the methods employed should be made here. At the start of the inquiry of each complex, such as deer hunting or house building, a general question would be posed and the informant was allowed to offer what information he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary to ask about particular details, or to inquire whether something were done this way or that. With the first informant Northern Paiute names for various items and concepts were recorded; subsequently, with the remaining Indians, the native name was used in questioning. To supplement the name, descriptions and pantomimes were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance was obtained from several hundred photographs of material culture and a number of actual specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games, and the like. Informants usually identified known types of material illustrated; consequently, blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage. The Indians seemed to appreciate seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested particular delight upon seeing representations of their own types. Thus the pictures had the double value of establishing friendly relations between the investigator and the Indians and provided a means of exact identification of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual knows all about everything in any culture, I checked, whenever possible, many parts of the list with two or more informants from the same band. Often it was necessary to use more than

*June 5-August 15, 1936.

[P. 361 (2)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

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Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise – Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

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The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatchâktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 221

Despite Panai'na's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'na] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). N K 648

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'na in 1865. N 361 131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Upper Sonoran zone as described by Steward,[3] and consists primarily of desert shrubs, including many different varieties of sagebrush and greasewood. Around the lakes and along the streams there are grasses and other plants, the seeds, roots, or berries of which were used for food. Willow bushes also grow along the streams. Where the elevation is higher than 5,000 feet, juniper and mahogany trees are found. Deer, mountain sheep, and antelope live in the foothills and jackrabbits abound throughout the terrain.

The nature of the environment is such that although the region included approximately 6,192 square miles it did not support more than about two hundred individuals. This estimate is for the period just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation in 1872 and would indicate that including the entire region over which the people wandered, the average density of population was one person per thirty square miles.[4] It is possible, however, that the population was denser at an earlier period, as stories are told of two bad epidemics which took a large toll of life two generations ago.[5] My estimate is computed from reports of the winter camp groups which existed in the childhood of old informants.

In the old days, the entire life of the Paiutes was oriented around the quest for food, which was none too plentiful. Around the first of May when the first green shoots broke through the ground, they left their winter camps and went to those places where they knew the early edible roots abounded. Nigger Flat, in the northeast corner of the valley, was the most frequented place and many families camped here while the women dug *epos* (Yapa, Carum oreganum Wats), *bu. ni'bui* (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R), *tsuga* and *sanatsuga* (unidentified). While the women were gathering these roots and preparing the *tsuga* and some *yapa* for storage, the men visited the Drewsey River to set up and repair their salmon traps so that they would be ready for the spring run. When their work was over, the women moved down to the river with their skin sacks full of roots and helped the men dry the salmon which they caught. When the run was over, the group broke up and families wandered off by themselves, hunting deer, sagehens, and other birds and collecting the different seeds and roots as they ripened. The first seed to ripen was the sunflower, *aki* and *kusiaki* (Balsamorhiza hooken Nutt). Later the women went to those places where *atza* (Sisymbrium Sophia L.) grew in large quantities. This seed was cached for winter consumption. Most of these early plants grew well in the northern part of the valley.

Around the fifteenth of July, families began to congregate at Cow Creek, about five miles east of Harney. Families from all over the valley and from the Hunibui Eater band to the north came to gather crickets. The women went out

[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120), p. 17.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 49, for contrast with other regions of the Great Basin.

[5] One of these may be related to the epidemic of measles which swept through the Cayuse and Umatilla in 1847.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

early in the morning and caught them, were back by sunrise, and spent the rest of the day roasting, drying, and pounding them and putting them in bags to be cached for the winter. In the evening the men and women gathered for gossip and gambling.

For the rest of the summer the families wandered off by themselves again. July was the month when ground hogs were considered to be the best. Currants and other berries were picked and eaten as they ripened. Fish were caught in the streams. Any game which was encountered was killed and eaten. The families often wandered up toward Seneca and John Day and hunted deer in the timber. In the fall some of the families went up to Canyon City, the men to hunt elk and the women to pick huckleberries.[6]

Around the first of September the families began to turn south to the vicinity of Malheur Lake and Saddle Butte. Everyone wanted to be on hand when the *wada* (Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats.) ripened. This was one of the staple seeds and was picked in large quantities for winter consumption. Probably the largest number of people came together at this time and there were many festivities, including circle dances and games of all kinds. Other seeds were gathered at the same time or a little later: *su.nu.*—saltbrush, *tomomi* (unidentified), *i'ape* (Chenopodium), and *wata* (Chenpodium Album L.). From the lakes many people went to Crow Camp to pick chokecherries, which were made into cakes and sun-dried for winter. At this time there were also communal antelope and rabbit drives.

By the first of November the families started to collect their cached foods and to move into their winter camps. Sites were selected which had a spring or some other source of water, a good supply of wood, and where it was known that there was not likely to be a heavy snowfall. Most of the camps were at the foot of hills or in protected regions near the lakes. Here tule mat houses were set up. (During the summer sagebrush enclosures were the only types of structure used.)

The size of the camps ranged from three to ten households. The people who wintered in these camps did not always return to the same place and hence the personnel of the groups changed from year to year. The constituent households of a camp were sometimes related. For example, the group who used to winter at what is now the P Ranch consisted of about six households. Household 1 was made up of a man and his wife, an unmarried daughter, and a divorced son and his child. Household 2 consisted of a man, his wife and children, and an unmarried brother. Household 3 consisted of a man and his wife and his two unmarried brothers and one unmarried sister. The last two households were married couples with their children. The man in Household 1 was the father of the wife in Household 3. Other than this there does not seem to be any kinship tie between the different house-

[6] During these wanderings they were technically in the terrain of the Hunibui Eaters and Elk Eaters, but inasmuch as these people wandered to the south to get crickets and sometimes to get *wada* there was reciprocal exchange.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co-operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adolescents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[1] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

[1] As cited by G. F. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggregations of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and

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sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca.

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place is ô-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1, although ô-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not

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224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

[221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[42]

825 1. awaga.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwI.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphateles obesus* or *Lenciscus pectinifer.*

3. he-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. how-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agwI.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Corregonus williamsoni.*

[113]

[42] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

Wadátkuht

THE HOMELAND

133 [131] Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000 acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake [137] whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending [312] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area [137] are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water [137] fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base (i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves [262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered [136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map, Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were [133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous regions to the south and to the west of their own territory. [221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gather- [137] ing forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered regions outside their recognized territory.

Wadátkuht

361 [174] of strict temporal control does not allow for the reconstructi of the Wadátkuht habitation pattern for any specific time in the past. It has been possible, however, to get a moderately clear picture of Wadátkuht life from just pre-1850 to about 1925.

It must be kept in mind that but a few of the following villages and camps were occupied by Wadátkuht groups at the same time. Most, and possibly all habitation sites were only occupied seasonally. [221] The Wadátkuht, similar to the other Great Basin people, made seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. These people would, however, usually return "home" for the winter. A "permanent" or winter village is termed nogat by the Wadátkuht. The village of Matá is the only village so termed by my informants, although other winter villages may by definition be given this term.

It has been difficult to decide which of the following named habitation sites were villages and which were camps. Except in a few clear-cut cases the differentiation is not [114] apparent. For the purposes of this ethnogeographic study the terms "village" and "camp" are considered to be synonomous unless otherwise noted.

103 The names for habitation sites, like those for the physiographic featues, appear to be primarily descriptive. Some names are descriptive of some action that takes place, or had taken place. One thing of importance to be kept in mind concerning names for habitation sites is that a specific name given may not necessarily apply to a single, well delimited camp or village. A section of a stream a mile or more in length may have but a single name but contain a number of distinct archaeological sites, some of which must be considered as historic due to the occurrence of contact artifacts. The informants themselves confirm this situation by occasionally giving a name that applies to a generalized habitation area rather than to a specific localized site. The following Wadátkuht habitation sites are given with pertinent data for each.

103 361 1. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This village site is located on the south side of Highway 395 where it crosses Parker Creek (T28N/R13E/SE¼ of NW¼ of Section 15). The name for this village is recent, that is, after contact times because it refers to the action of the white bachelor who had his house there. This pioneer man on occasion would remove his trousers and attempt to catch the Paiute girls

Wadátkuht

361 [224] their bow hand as they shot their arrows (personal communication with Dr. Louis Payen of Sacramento).

2. Sometimes the Indians camped about a quarter of a mile west of the Hostetter ranch house at the archaeological site Las-107, rather than at the camp just noted above. This is an example of continued use of an ancient site, or at least a re-occupation.

3. One of the more important post-contact villages was the one located on the Jim McClelland ranch on the north side of Honey Lake (T29N/R15E). Archaeological sites in the area demonstrate its native use in pre-contact times. Modern use probably began circa 1870 and continued until approximately 1920. There is no record of an occupation continuous from aboriginal times, however. Kitty Joaquin's mother died at this camp and was buried beneath a lone juniper tree about a quarter mile south of the ranch house. As a blessing, or for good luck, relatives of the woman would throw coins and beads at the tree as they passed by.

4. During haying season Joaquin's group used to camp at Will Dill's ranch near Seven Bridges in the delta of Susan River a short distance from the north shore of Honey Lake. [881] It was at this camp that Kitty Joaquin went through her puberty ceremony. She ran five miles to the hill behind Litchfield and returned each day during her ceremony.

361 464 [221] The camp at the Dill Ranch, like that at McClelland's place seems to have been seasonally occupied to provide a labor force for the various ranchers. The Indians, during the post-contact period until approximately the early 1920's substituted seasonal ranch work for their aboriginal seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. The pattern remained much the same but working for wages tended to replace hunting and gathering activities.

361 5. The Secret Valley group had a winter village on the sandy ridge a short distance east of the meadows bordering Secret Creek in the vicinity of the junction of the Karlo road and Highway 395. This sandy ridge extends from just south of this junction to about one mile north, to the vicinity of the present Secret ranch. The Secret Valley Wadátkuht used to camp all along this ridge with apparently no specific spot preferred. By camping here they were handily located for work on the McKessick ranch, with their labors being primarily spent on haying.